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Thesis

# MALADJUSTED BOYS IN GOODWILL HOUSE, MORGAN MEMORIAL, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

by

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(A.B., Mount Allison University, 1933)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the
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## PREFACE

A year's experience with maladjusted boys in Goodwill House has impressed upon the writer the challenge of juvenile rehabilitation now placed on the doorstep of this generation. It has been our sobering task to deal with the products of broken homes, degenerate communities, inhumane prisons, and an economic system that no longer needs thousands of genuine American youth. As a result of a lack of background material the problem of maladjustment has been approached from the standpoint of the individual although no one would be more willing to admit the significance of the physical environment than the author. To consider all the factors making for maladjustment would be quite outside the compass of this thesis.

S. W. J. Walsh.

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# INTRODUCTION

In the broadest sense of the term maladjustment may be of two kinds - social and psychological. In the world today both types are challenging the integrity of individuals and the stability of society to such a degree that no one is sure just what the outcome will be. There is plenty of evidence on every hand to show that socially the times are out of joint. No generation has ever lived through more sweeping changes and consequently more difficult adjustments than the present. Indeed, at the present moment we are but barely approaching the shores of a new world socially and economically. In all probability the stiffest fight which our generation shall face will be to make social adjustments at the points where modern life seems hopelessly out of gear. Construction must replace chaos.

It is well to note in the beginning that no sharp differentiation can be drawn between social and psychological maladjustment as they are operative in the life of any individual. There is no place in a maladjusted person's life where we can say, here psychological maladjustment stops and social maladjustment begins or vice versa. There is a constant interplay of the psychological or individualistic with the social. No man liveth psychologically maladjusted unto himself.

Psychological maladjustment may be attributed

to the socially conditioned, limited or repressed personality. An individual may be maladjusted within himself or within his group. The fact of maladjustment is shown when an individual fails to attain some norm of behavior. In the biological realm, for example, adaption is that relation of a living thing to its environment which assures the species to which that creature belongs its survival. The standard, in the psychological sense of adaption, however, is no longer mere living but a way of living which shall head off strains and frustrations. We should be on our guard against reducing the psychological concept of adjustment to the biological concept of adjustment. We do not advocate a race of Supermen.

Of late the concept of psychological maladjustment has received an increasing amount of attention with a view to the development of means for its cure or prevention. Several theories have been advanced as to the determining or underlying factors making for such maladjustment. In the first place we have the Freudians running up the banner of sex inhibitions as the cause of all psychological dislocation. Then we have Graham Wallas locating all difficulty in the artificial character of urban civilization or Ogburn pointing to the swift changes of a technologically inventive society which produces nervous excitations. Finally we have certain socialist writers proclaiming from the housetops that the insecurities of a none too secure capitalism are to blame. Perhaps it

would be nearer the truth to say that all these factors have their forces drawn up in the battlefield of maladjustment. Certainly they are not contradictory, but rather emphasize different factors. And it is for this very reason that one should pay greater attention to the definition and diagnosis of maladjustment. The norms to which maladjustment is relative vary with individuals and with groups so that many people may follow different norms than their fellows and consequently be classified as maladjusted. Maladjustment, therefore, cannot be identified with non-conformity. "It is only when the individual manifests symptoms of personal or inner disequilibrium.... when his personality is distracted by the failure to live his life in accordance with a set of norms valid for himself that psychological maladjustment can be predicted in any unambiguous sense."[1]

On the other hand an individual may be out of joint with his social environment. Recently there has been a development of agencies for the remedial treatment of maladjustment of this nature such as juvenile courts, reformatories, child clinics, psychiatric clinics, sanitaria and special schools. The case study method of Thomas, Shaw, Healy, Bronner, Powrer and others, moreover, show that all forms of delinquency and criminality are not always due to maladjustment within the personality of the offender but in many cases bear a relationship to his social environment.

[1]Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. X, P. 62.

# CHAPTER I

## MALADJUSTMENT

## PSYCHOLOGICALLY CONSIDERED

# MALADJUSTED BOYS IN GOODWILL HOUSE, MORGAN MEMORIAL, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

## Chapter I

## MALADJUSTMENT PSYCHOLOGICALLY CONSIDERED

### I EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY

The emotional instability which is often quite frequent in the transition period from childhood to adolescence is usually manifested in adolescent flare-ups. Many people look upon adolescence as a stormy period, a time of stress and strain. It would be well, however, to note that this period need not necessarily be a season of emotional equinoxes. To be sure there are a number of psychological and physiological hurdles which the modern adolescent must make and a complete adjustment both inwardly and outwardly is not achieved without struggles. But many of the emotional floods of the modern youth are now uncontrollable because there was little if any regulation in childhood.

If we continue further this relationship of the adolescent to the child we find that the transition

involves a freeing of the individual from his parents and what is still more significant he assumes an increasing amount of responsibility and independence. How smoothly the transition can be made depends almost entirely on childhood conditioning. If, for example, a child has been protected, idolized, pampered the chances are that there will be a very real struggle when he is compelled to break with family ties. The losing of many an adolescent battle is the result of a cloistered childhood. Is it any wonder that many youths are emotionally immature when they face the realities of an adult world?

Again, let us suppose that a child grows up in a family situation in which there is a very great emotional attachment to either father or mother. How will he fare when he reaches the swelling ties of adolescence? The plain fact is that the transition cannot be made with only a rippled surface. Adolescent emotions cannot be bottled up.

When such childhood conditionings have warped the child's emotional life out of all proportions, adolescence does become a period of struggle. Emotional instability is the logical outcome, for on one hand childhood training forces him back on his parents and on the other hand normal, emotional, adolescent drives forces him to venture out on uncharted seas. If the early conditioning has not been too adverse, at least a partial

adjustment will be made quite satisfactorily. But if there are strong childhood fixations together with a weakness in make-up there is bound to be a period of eruptions with intermittent emotional emissions.

If, on the other hand, there has been a normal family life, in which there was a healthy amount of affection and in which the child had been encouraged to make his own decisions, the changes of adolescence will come about quite naturally. In such cases, there is but an increase of personal responsibility and a new adjustment with the family when the individual moves outside this narrow circle. To be sure there will still be some emotional disturbances associated with the physiological processes attending puberty, but intense emotional conflicts accompaning socialization will not be present.

(a) Internal Causes of Emotional Instability

1. Warping of personality through fear.

We now turn to a consideration of the internal causes making for emotional instability. Of major import as a factor in warping one's personality is fear. "of all the factors that tend to disintegrate human personality, none seems to be so bad as fear in its many forms"[2] says Burnham. Certainly of the vast number of disinte-

[2]William H. Burnham, The Wholesome Personality, P.327

grating factors that tend to break down a child's personality, fear may become the worst. The problem as it appears in adolescence, therefore, cannot be fully analyzed unless it is recognized in childhood. Behaviorists have pointed out that the child at birth is probably without fear except when a loud noise is introduced or there is sudden removal of support. Owing to unfortunate conditions of early life associated fears are often developed in great numbers, so thatpractically every child that has reached the age of three years has at least some conditioned or associated fears. Certain experiences of early childhood leave impressions upon the mind that govern our conduct and our general attitude toward life long after the experience itself had been forgotten. There is no emotion to which a child is more frequently subjected than that of fear. It can be aroused in many different ways and is so closely linked up with other emotions and plays such an important part in the development of future personality that it cannot be passed over lightly.

Thorn specifies two distinct types of fear, the objective and the subjective. Objective fears are the most common and are the easier to deal with. In most cases some unfortunate early experience is associated with an external object so that an unpleasant emotional reaction is the result.

Fear may easily be made a dominating idea in

the mind of the child by constantly suggesting the possibility of danger. A great many parents are responsible for bringing about such a feeling. It is very poor psychology to warn a child of some inevitable danger or punishment if he does a certain thing. While it is true that this warning of danger may have a temporary effect as a disciplinary measure, it is not a lasting means of achieving desirable conduct. An ever present anticipation of danger on the part of children may become a dominant part of their personalities which cannot be sloughed off in later life. Such people are filled with doubts and indecision, confidence is lacking and courage is gone. They feel inadequate to meet life, and they can get along only in a sheltered environment.

Most of the fears, however, that children experience are not of the objective type. They are not concerned with things actually seen or heard but rather they are the product of the child's imagination. Such fears are not always easy to analyze and account for. Hazy, indefinite, and poorly formulated ideas about death are the basis of much mental anxiety in children. Thorn verified the fact that fear is stimulated by the line in the evening prayer which is familiar to most children, "If I should die before I wake." He also relates the story of a four year old child who became greatly depressed and spent hours of suffering because he thought death meant

being buried alive. The origin of his fear was a story of grave robbers cutting off a finger of a supposedly dead woman in order to get her jewels, and of her return to life after the operation.

A very commonplace thing may sometimes give rise to a feeling of fear which may persist for a long time. The writer recalls when a very small boy being put to bed before dark in an unfinished room. In the gathering darkness the shadows cast on the opposite wall resembled in a remarkable degree the figure of a "big" man. For years afterwards there was a feeling of unnaturalness when he entered dark rooms. To understand some of the timidity of adolescence we shall have to go back to the fears of early childhood.

2. Warping of personality through a feeling of inferiority.

Emotional instability may also be increased by the warping of personality through a sense of inadequacy or inferiority. Because of the many new situations he must face because of his physical, social awkwardness, the adolescents's sense of his own inadequacy frequently becomes very acute. This feeling of inferiority is made more pronounced by being laughed at or criticized, and may result in a form of shyness, seclusiveness, unwillingness to attack new problems or an apparent indifference to public opinion. Miriam Van Waters describes the man-

ifestations of feelings of inferiority as follows:

> "These individuals who are incapable of teamplay, and whose malady takes the form now of bashfulness, shrinking, depression, envy, jealousy and self-pity; again of showing off, boastfulness, agression, critical scorn of the achievements of others, belittling the value of the players and the game itself, interference, occasional exhibitionism - they should not be blamed. They are, it is true, a terrific nuisance, but they are almost heroically unhappy. The basic difficulty is their feeling of inferiority."[3]

Van Waters suggests two remedies for this feeling of inferiority. One is a cultivation on the part of the parents of "respect for varying personalities" and an appreciation of such children. The other remedy is to encourage play.

The role played by physical and mental disorder in producing a sense of inferiority has been made clear by Adler. The individual with physical defect, for example, may dwell far too much upon his own inability which directly leads to a feeling of inferiority. On the other hand many through special effort and training compensate by superiority in something else. But it is with normal people we are most concerned here. The sense of inferiority is by no means limited to those distinctly defective or pathological. It is a common experience both among boys and girls, among the talented and highly intelligent as well as the dull and those lacking in in-

[3]Miriam Van Waters: "Nineteen Ways of Being a Bad Parent" The Survey, Graphic Number, LVII Jan.1,1927,433-439.

telligence. At some stage of development a sense of inferiority is a normal feeling of most boys and girls. In cases where there is no physical or mental disorder there is likely to be a psychosis of development.

Thwarted self-assertion is also the basis of a number or emotional states resulting in a warping of the personality. Shame, sulkiness, sullenness, peevishness, stubborness, defiance are all too obvious manifestations of wounded self-assertion. Shyness and embarrassment may also be present to mar one's perfect adjustment to a given stiuation. We may be sure that a feeling of inferiority will usually follow the thwarting of a child's demand for powers and mastery. There is the feeling that he is beaten and ridiculed by a hostile world.

(b) External Causes of Emotional Instability

Turning to the outer world we find plenty of evidence to show that youth is in conflict here as well. Much has been written in recent times about "the revolt of modern youth." Swept into a post-war world with a general shake up of time honored institutions the youth of our day has lined up in the march against Victorianism. Old traditions with the social approval of centuries behind them have failed to stem the tides of self-expression. Since the opening of this century youth has resisted social

patterning on every front until today a new status has been achieved. Young people today cannot be held by traditional tricks.

1. Resistance to social patterning.

While it is true that much of the resistance to social patterning in our day can be explained on the basis of new ideas in western civilization a great deal of it from the individual standpoint can be accounted for on the basis of prolonged childish egoism. Any individual who has been carried along during childhood and early adolescence on a wave of overworked egoism will sooner or later bounce against the cliffs of social patterning. Nor can we place all blame on the individual. Increasingly we are beginning to see that back of the individual who is always at logger heads with society there is, in all probability, a home that has failed to prepare its children for future citizenship. Parental guidance because of its stupidity has lost its authority. There are many modern Youths all at sea in a rapidly changing world unable to make suitable adjustments because they were never properly adjusted in the home.

Then again there are many social conditions which lend themselves to the development of conflicts in the individuals' relationship with society. In society the individual meets one of the prime factors in human education, namely, the force of custom or con-

vention. This usually soon overwhelms the individual. Certain things have to be adhered to. The individual self, the child self, and perhaps the result of domestic training, often clash with the conventional social self, and mental conflict arises.

Thus psychologically there is a new freedom for the adolescent. This is why he resents restraint and being treated like a child. He is also quite likely to accept things on their merit rather than on outside authority. Conflict and contradictions arise between his childhood standards and those of the wider social group with whom he comes into contact.

2. The anti-social influence of the gang.

Companions of a boy's own age wield a vital influence in the shaping of the adolescent self. When an adolescent group of companions has been formed, such a company cannot but exert some power over the self, for a boy or girl makes every effort to maintain and even better his or her status in the group. The roots of the gang go back to the spontaneous effort of boys to create a society for themselves where none adequate to their needs exists. They get a thrill and zest of participation in common interests, more especially in coöperate action, in hunting, capture, conflict, flight and escape. The gang functions in two ways:

(a) Offers a substitute for what society fails to give.

(b) Provides a relief from suppression and distasteful behavior.

There is a very real sense in which the gang, itself a natural and spontaneous type of organization arising through conflict, is a symptom of disorganization in the large social realm. Thrasher defines the gang as "an interstitial group originally formed spontaneously and then integrated through conflict. It is characterized by the following types of behavior: meeting face to face, milling, moving through space as a unit conflict of planning. The result of this collective behavior is the development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, esprit de corps, solidarity, morale, group awareness and attachment to a local territory."[4]

Among adolescents of the quality later represented by the delinquent classes, groups are sometimes organized for plundering, fighting or other anti-social purposes. It is in early adolescence that gangs are likely to be formed, especially in the city. In gang life there is always the quest for new experience. It is a means by which one can escape from monotony and secure excitement. This very often takes the form of a real "rough house", the whole idea of movement and change,

[4]Frederick M. Thrasher, The Gang. A Study of 1313 Gangs in Chicago, P.57

games leading to gambling, predatory activities such as stealing and burglary. With an excess of idle time on their hands much time is spent in telling stories of exploits or of the seamy side of life. Smoking and drinking are also greatly indulged in. After Thrasher's extensive study of 1313 gangs in Chicago, he reaches the conclusion that "the gang's pattern of activity are determined largely by the environment and the patterns that it discovers in the world about it."[5] In another place Thrasher says that "life in the gang is a product of interaction between the fundamental nature of the group and its members on one hand and the environment on the other."[6]

Sex in the gang may also take on an anti-social tinge. Of course the influence of sex upon gang life varies according to the age and the biological development of its members, so that many students of gang life maintain that sex is a decidedly secondary activity in the gang. Sex in the younger adolescent gang is looked upon with indifference or even scorn or hostility. It is in older gangs that we find sex delinquency, especially when the gang includes girls as members. Investigations have also shown a relationship and indeed causal connec-

[5]Frederick M. Thrasher, The Gang. A Study of 1313 Gangs in Chicago, P. 101.
[6]Ibid P.247.

tion between sex delinquency and deplorable housing conditions.

The gang problem, then, is one of demoralization. The gang invites truancy, facilitates delinquency, and a contributing factor to crime, though probably not a cause. In the gang a boy learns undesirable personal habits, familiarizes himself with the technique of crime and acquires a philosophy of life which helps further delinquency. Indifference to law and order, complete independence and a peculiar fatalism regarding the inevitable outcome of such a life are also characteristics of gang life. The gang, then, seems to be the forerunner of the gangster. Howard McLellan in an article entitled, "Boys, Gangs and Crime" makes the statement that " the evolution of the gangster is due to the lack of proper leadership for boys seeking adventure."[7]

3. The sexual element in free association groups.

Among the members of older groups or gangs there is evidence of much sexual looseness and promiscuity. This looseness may involve girl friends of individuals within the group, prostitutes or inmates of disorderly homes. Some gangs have even kept girls in their rooms, but ordinarily the practice is avoided as being too dan-

[7]Literary Digest, "Boys, Gangs, and Crime", April 13,1929.

gerous. In a group there may be, for example, a few sex perverts resulting in a great deal of immorality. The group may consist of from fifteen to thirty boys, ranging in age from fifteen to twenty-two years. This number of boys has been known to have sexual relations with one woman in the course of a few hours. A case is known in which about thirty transient boys had relations with two girls in a box car in a freight yard during one afternoon. One of the most serious results of such promiscuity is venereal disease.

Even if we approach the problem of sexual promiscuity from a different setting from that of a gang of adolescent boys, the dangers are equally obvious. Suppose we approach it from an individualistic basis. The satisfaction of the sex-instinct in physical intimacy is a thing that has a far reaching effect on personality. In this it is quite different from the satisfaction of the hunger instinct. The latter has comparatively little effect on the mind. The former has a deep, psychological significance which cannot be overestimated. If it were not so, even the sex taboo of pre-marriage days would not produce many feelings of regret and fear and sometimes repulsion and disgust which in many cases follow the sex act outside marriage. The crux of the matter lies in the approach. If the sexual act is carried on from a purely physical basis with a total absence of the finer spiritual aspect, then in all probability the inevitable result will be some sort of emotional instability.

## II MENTAL INSTABILITY

Up to the present, maladjustment has been approached from the viewpoint of its resultant emotional instability. The approach now will be made from the standpoint of mental instability. We shall consider briefly certain types of mental instability.

### (a) Feeble-Mindedness

The first type to be discussed is feeble-mindedness. Twenty five years ago the problem of the feeble-minded was not considered very pressing. Today it is presented to us in various forms. There are, roughly speaking, three grades of mental deficiency of feeble-mindedness. The lowest grade is idiocy. An idiot child cannot learn to speak, to attend to natural wants, or to aquire habits of cleanliness. There is no absolutely clean-cut division between idiocy and the next highest grade of mental deficiency - imbecility. The outstanding thing in imbeciles is that they are, in some degrees, teachable. To be sure they cannot learn much, but they can learn something. Idiots and imbeciles are not responsible for their actions. The idiot's mentality never develops beyond the intelligence of a three year old child, the imbecile's does not get beyond that of a child of seven years of age. The bothersome, difficult class however is made up of those mental deficients whose intellectual development lies between that of a seven and

of a twelve year old child. This class is known as morons. They are the people who do the simple routine work and who are incapable of anything more complicated. The greatest handicap of the moron is that he never learns from experience. If we send a normal boy to jail for stealing, for example, the chances are he will realize that boys who steal go to jail and have a very uncomfortable time of it there. A moron, on the other hand steals and goes to jail and comes out, steals and goes in again. He does not see the connection between stealing and jailing. And moreover morons are often emotionally unstable.

(b) Epilepsy

In considering these manifestations of mental instability we are more concerned about their effect on personality rather than a mere description of the abnormality itself. In brief epilepsy is a disorder characterized by episodic attacks in which the subject loses consciousness and exhibits characteristic convulsive movements. Edward a young man of 22 has occasional epileptic fits. He probably has a vague feeling beforehand indicating their approach. The writer happened to be living in the same summer camp when it was discovered that Edward was lying unconscious in one of his epileptic fits. A great change had come over his face and he was frothing at the mouth. He was breathing very heavily and his whole body bore evidence of extreme physical tension. After the fit was over it took several hours before the patient was ready for work

again. He has been regulating his diet quite rigidly of late and this doubtless makes for less frequency of attacks.

In general it has been held that the personality of epileptics are characterized by three elements, namely: (a) irritability, (b) lack of control, (c) persistence. However, individual cases seem to differ to a great degree. The writer did not find either of the three very much to the fore in Edward's personality; although the third seemed to be fairly well operative in the things in which he was interested. In conversations concerning his problem I have discovered that he is greatly interested in a cure and would pay almost any price to be rid of his handicap.

(c) Psychopathic Personality

If a person shows no symptoms of any mental disease, no psychosis, who seems fairly well adjusted to life and yet, who is somehow not"just right" he is known as a psychopathic personality. We know that he is not mentally ill, that he is neither obsessed nor afraid, but nevertheless his behavior and mental reactions are peculiar. They are not what we would logically expect to find from a person of his or her heredity, environment or training. What the trouble is cannot be determined. He cannot be listed under the usual classifications, so he is called a psychopathic. Probably the most effective way to treat such people is to treat them as if they were perfectly normal, while at the same time recognize their weak points and not~~to~~ expect too

much acceptable behavior from them. In our two years experience of over seven hundred transient boys at Morgan Memorial we have had cases that could not be cleared up no matter what the approach was. Many, doubtless, were psychopathic.

## III SOME JUVENILE EXPRESSIONS OF MALADJUSTMENT

All juvenile expressions of maladjustment are offences against social regulations. The adolescent boy has failed to make a social adjustment, thus his behavior is distinctly anti-social. Not only does his socially undesirable behavior become a problem for society in the sense that society's laws are broken, but the youth himself is on the highroad of deterioration.

### (a) Truancy and Wandering

Offenses against social regulations cover a number of more or less serious delinquencies. Reliable statistics have shown that truancy and running away from home are second in degree of frequency among all offenses, each being engaged in by about 40% of boys. Both truancy and running away from home are included together here because nearly all runaway boys are truant during the time of absence from home.

When we speak of a truant boy we mean one who has persistently stayed away from school with no justifiable reasons. Drs. Healy and Bronner find that their figures representing truancy do not tally with court statistics and they offer, as an explanation, the fact that truancy may exist unknown to the court, and partly because the problem is handled differently in different cities. For example

Boston manages its truant problem without a parental or truant school, but truancy is a court charge on a par with any other offense. Chicago, on the other hand, relies on its special institution for truants, but, while juveniles are committed there by the court, truancy is considered a special problem and statistics are not recorded among the regular offenses given in the annual court reports.

"Running away and truancy in childhood", says Healy, "although so frequently made light of, has been found by ourselves, and many other investigators, to be a distinctly serious matter."[8] This is true in the light not only of the worry caused by it to any fairly well respectable family, but also the anti-social acts which the truant may engage in after he has left home. The accompanying secretiveness, lying, association with bad characters of all sorts, and indulgence in bad habits all tend directly to an anti-social career. Youthful vagabondage, truancy, is well called the kindergarten of crime.

The childrens' court of the city of New York lists four different types of crime as a result of its dealing with maladjusted youth. They are disorderly conduct, stealing, burglary and desertion of home. The latter is in itself a delinquency after a boy has been away from his home twenty-four hours. Between the years 1926-1929 this court reported that from 9 to 12% of the delinquent boys examined there were runaways. The seriousness

[8] William Healy, The Individual Delinquent, P.779.

of running away from home is the fact that it suggests maladjustment requiring a social adjustment. Clairette P. Armstrong says that "among delinquent children, deserting the home is conspicuous by its frequency and by the fact that it generally involves other types of misdeeds. It is often characteristic of the past of adult criminals and it is a social behavior which may acquire a psychopathic tinge."[9]

The drives causing a boy to run away from home may be as follows:

(1) Physical (a. Flight from noxious stimuli.
(b. Self-preservation. i.e. to escape bodily harm.

(2) Mental (a. The independence motive.
(b. An economic situation.
(c. The play impulses - so called "wanderlust".

It was discovered that there was a majority of home offenders among the juvenile delinquents of the childrens'court of New York between the ages of eight and fifteen. Prior to 1928, the two classes of offenses, incorrigibility and deserting the home, were reckoned together in the reports and furnished over 50% of the clinic cases. Statistics reveal that the number of runaways increases with age up to fifteen years when there are fewer than at fourteen. It was also discovered that more than half of the runaways had disrupted families. There was also nearly an equal percentage of runaways from broken and intact foreign families, but a larger percentage from disrupted than intact American

[9] Clairette P. Armstrong, 660 Runaway Boys. Why boys desert their homes, P. 14.

families. Over one-quarter of the runaways had step-parents and over one-half of all family catastrophies occurred before the runaways were six years old. Also overt distructive factors such as alcoholism, immorality, amentia, psychoneuroses, psychoses, tuberculosis, and criminality were more frequently present among the mothers of runaways than among the mothers of other types of delinquents. It was also revealed that the mothers of boys accused of offenses involving the homes, running away and incorrigibility were forced to work outside their homes in order to augment the income of the family.

Half of the group of runaways examined had nervous habits such as enuresis, masturbation and temper tantrums. Physical defects were more numerous with them than with the public school children of New York. They had diseased tonsils, ear and endocrine disorders. Thirty six per cent were recidivists. It is also a very interesting fact that all incorrigibles and the majority of runaway boys offended alone. Runaways deserted their homes alone but sometimes joined others in their wanderings. Over three-quarters of the runaways had deserted their homes more than once and nearly three-quarters for more than two days. There were also more deserters in the months of November, March and October. Most of them slept in halls, subways and elevated platforms. Probable one of the most illuminating of all facts in connection with runaway boys is that seventy per cent left homes because of home trouble while thirty-seven per cent left because of school trouble.

(b) Sex Problems

Sex adjustment is without doubt one of the greatest hurdles which the modern adolescent must face. Especially is this true if childhood conditioning has been such that it has hindered rather than helped the development of a wholesome personality. Many a modern youth has gone to pieces on the rocks of sexual maladjustment because earlier in life sex instruction was either totally ignored, or gotten through back-alley sources.

In approaching the problem of sexual maladjustment we find that abnormal sexualism may be brought on by either mental or physiological peculiarities. In some instances the conduct is instigated as the result of mental processes. In other cases the physiological basis seems to be in the forefront. Indeed in some cases both factors seem to be mixed. It is now known that there are several centers in the nervous system from which sex feelings may be generated. So, faced with a sexually maladjusted youth, we may ask the question - is his maladjustment, due to over active secreting glands, an obsessive mental imagery, some anatomical condition or environmental and physical experiences?

The intricacies of the problem loom up when we realize that the various expressions of sexual maladjustment such as rape, incest, sex perversion, etc. may all be the result of disordered mentality, of environmental conditions, or of hypersexualism in an otherwise normal individual. Hypersexualism seems to be inseparately bound

up with either various physical conditions or unfortunate early sex experiences. Sexualistic obsessions, in which mental imagery and ideation are very much in evidence, probably go back to an upsetting of the nervous system. To be sure environmental or physical experiences may enter and add to the complexity of the situation. It is not always easy to see the relationship between delinquency and sexualism, but in the case of exhibitionism, however, which has psychological aspects not easy to understand, the relation seems obvious. The meaning of such forms of conduct as certain forms of stealing, indulgences in under sexualistic impulses goes much deeper. The theft of articles for fetishism is well known. Probably the most common objects stolen are women's handkerchiefs and women's shoes. Gloves and other articles of wear are sometimes found desirable. Charles S. a friend of one of our boys at Goodwill House was recently "pinched" for his seventh petty robbery. On this occasion he had stolen candy for his girl friend in spite of the fact that he had been warned by his friend now living with us that the store in which he was caught contained a burglar alarm.

Healy's reports show that at least 13 per cent of his cases had encountered some early sex experiences sufficiently serious to warrant considering them as a factor in later maladjustment The trouble seems to have arisen from the teaching of other children and adults of both sexes as much as from bad sex practices with other children.

When the deplorable housing situation into which many children live, move and have their being and the type of language to which they are subjected during their early years are taken into consideration we are not surprised at the number of youths that are adrift sexually. "Very many times", says Healy, "in our studies of the genetics of a delinquent career we have ascertained that the earliest beginnings were connected with illicit sex practices."[10]

As far as masturbation as a problem is concerned the emphasis should be laid on its effect in causing other delinquencies. Its physical effects have been greatly exaggerated to the mental cost of many a boy. Mental worry about masturbation frequently does more harm than the habit itself. Dr. Healy discovered that in his study of young offenders who are well started in careers of delinquency, he has been "profoundly impressed with the breakdown of will, of physical condition, and of general moral fibre that is correlated with the excessive practice of masturbation".[11] In connection with excessive masturbation such delinquencies as sleeping away from home, unwillingness to go to school or to work, recourse to excess of stimulants, petty stealing, vagrancy, constant giving way to desire for exciting amusement have been prevalent. Doubtless the individual feels that the act is anti-social and therefore has a stigma attached to it. His constant

[10] William Healy, The Individual Delinquent, P.245.
[11] William Healy, The Individual Delinquent, P.245.

efforts at secrecy in this regard may lead to moral breakdown. First there is weak self-indulgence, then secretiveness and lies, then a shunning of duties and finally a search for stimulation and artificial energy.

(c) Stealing

Stealing among boys may be pathological or carried on with some definite objective in view. In pathological stealing there is little if any relationship between the type of misconduct and the end results. Stealing is engaged in more or less for its own sake and not because a boy needs certain objects. Case studies have shown a relationship between mental conflicts or minor psychical aberrations and pathological stealing. Also mental defectives may steal just for the sake of stealing.

The interpretation of the causes of this impulse to steal is illuminating. It may be a sort of relief for repressed elements in mental life. Other case studies have revealed the fact that the repression is often found to center about sex affairs. Such basis for the stealing impulse is found by analysing the underlying subconscious motives.

In discussions on stealing much emphasis has been laid on pathological stealing or so-called "Kleptomania". It would be well if the term kleptomania were even more restricted and used only in cases where we are sure it is a matter of pathological stealing. In the case of many boys

hastily classified as kleptomaniacs there may have been conflicts between the environment and the boy's personality which have resolved themselves in a career of stealing. Dr. Robert Young of the Boston Psychiatric Clinic states that he has never handled a case of pure indisputable kleptomania. He has discovered adequate causes in the boy's world to account for his stealing. There are situations out of which stealing has grown. So in discriminating cases of what may be called pathological stealing one must be careful to rule out those who steal for the sake of adventure, for the love of excitement and possession. Other forms of stealing, for example, of objects of fetishism, may in some sense be considered pathological but let us bear in mind that even here the objects taken are desired for themselves.

Vincent H., eighteen years of age, came to us in January 1935 from the Industrial Aid in Boston. Our psych ometic report shows an I.Q. of 102 with a fair rating in all phases of the report, with the basal year for testing as sixteen years. He had received treatment from the Massachusetts General Psychiatric Clinic, Industrial Aid, Boston Industrial Home, Boston Children's Hospital, and at some private hospital for infantile paralysis. Immediately after the test period he voluntarily informed the tester of a concern regarding sex.

Dipping into Vincent's past history we discovered so-called Kleptomania very much in evidence, practiced not only away from home but in the home itself. A visit to

his home revealed the family living in a two family house, apparently in a fairly good condition and in a fairly good neighborhood. Mrs. H. was interviewed and was very responsive. She had a very kind attitude toward Vincent, the second of a family of six. Vincent had been a problem in the home for some time. He had never been employed as he has been handicapped by infantile paralysis. He has always been dishonest and unreliable at home so that he could never be trusted. Some months ago Vincent went to a CCC camp and was dishonorably discharged on account of laziness and being absent without leave. After he had returned from camp his older brother Leo discovered that $50.00 belonging to him was missing. Vincent admitted he had taken it and spent it, which led to his eviction by his father. Vincent admits the trouble at home was caused by his stealing. Our records show he has been up for larceny twice and once for evading fare. He has already admitted to us that he has stolen a great deal.

His adjustment since coming to Goodwill House shows some signs of progress. He announced to the interviewer when he came in that he was bothered with kleptomania, and that if anything was lost in the house we should refer to him first, as he would probably have it. Subsequent observation on the part of all in the house does not reveal a single instance of stealing, and further reveals that Vincent is taking great pride in the fact that he has indulged in no thievery. He is an exhibitionist

in the presence of other boys, and especially in the presence of girls. He is creative in all enterprizes, and took special interest in making a number of crosses. He has been promoted in the house to Librarian, Office and Lobby Sargent, Chapel Attendant and Electric Light Jockey. He is deeply interested in promoting minstrel shows, and in general, anything which will give him the opportunity for self-expression and bring him into popular lime-light. He has adjusted well to all house programs. He edited, against great odds, the house newspaper on two occasions. At times his exhibitionism makes him a bit overbearing, but in the main he can be led in the right direction if handled properly.

Upon one occasion he opened up the subject of kleptomania out of a clear sky by saying to one of the staff, "You told Mr. M. I told you I had kleptomania because you thought I wanted to get kicked out of here. Well I didn't. I tell everybody. That is why the doors are barred to me everywhere I go." Commenting upon the same subject sometime afterwards he said, "It (kleptomania) is a feeling which comes over me. It comes when I am going through a store or somewhere."

(d) Lying

It is somewhat of a revelation to note that back of much adolescent lying there have been extremely upsetting personal experiences. There may be an impulsive making

up of stories centering around the boy's own life and experiences. There may be, on the other hand, excessive lying with no apparent objective in view, except, maybe, an excursion into the world of fantasy. In any case whatever the causes of lying may be, whether they are just causes or not or whether the lying takes on a distinctly pathological coloring, the fact still remains thatit is an indication of maladjustment. As with other signs of maladjustment it will probably lead to more serious delinquencies. Dr. Healy stresses this fact when he says that,

> "Most of our cases have been definitely delinquent over and beyond the peculiar lying, which, with a few, was in itself as dastardly a delinquency as can be imagined. Most of the offenders have at times run away from home, some have engaged in stealing, and some have engaged in much sex delinquency."[12]

So far as motives go, in many cases the advantages to be gained are not at all clear in the individual's mind. There is rather a mere following of an impulse. Again, in other cases the motives may be so well buried that we can only discover them by making many psychological and psychiatric detours. In some, however, the relation of desired ends to persistent lying is not so difficult to perceive, but the adverse social position into which the habit may put one gives rise to the doubt as to whether or not the guilty person realizes that he is really lying.

The experience with transient boys in Boston has

[12] William Healy, The Individual Delinquent, P.731

led the writer to the opinion that much of the lying among this group of boys can be placed on a very practical basis. It is the usual custom to give false information concerning oneself or his family when he is being interviewed as one of the many thousands of wandering boys. In many cases a boy travels under an assumed name and makes up a family situation which is non-existent. Lying is thus indulged in to further personal aggrandizement, to secure certain results. This of course carries one back to the home situation and why the boy left home in the first place. Then of course the explanation is not as simple. Lying then may be a symptom of serious maladjustment.

Lying is very often associated with stealing, although it need not be so. A child who has a feeling of inferiority may express himself or react to that psychological situation by either stealing of lying. If proper habits of truthfulness are formed in early life, and the relationship of father and mother in the home is one of frankness and sincerity the chances are the child will grow up with a respect for honesty. On the other hand if truth is passed over lightly and promises are broken at will how can the child learn the value of truth or practice it?

Again, many of the transient boys who have come to us lied profusely in order to bolster up a none too secure self-esteem. The situations, even if they were involved in them, have been obviously exaggerated. It is a

means of drawing attention to oneself, an effort to secure a place in the sun. This is particularly true of the boy who has but little to contribute to the life of the group, yet who would like to make a worthwhile contribution. John D. who gave his age as 17 came to the Morgan Memorial camps at South Athol on parole from the Juvenile Court in Boston. John is quite diminutive physically, being only 5 feet 5 inches tall and weighing 110 lbs. His home life doubtless was an important factor in his subsequent maladjustment. He tried to compensate for his physical inferiority by relating to us the most thrilling experiences imaginable in which he played the major role always emerging the complete master of the situation. John could surpass every freight train story told by the other boys although he had had but one year's experience on the road. His habitual misstatement of facts coupled with his dislike for work made him a considerable camp problem. John obviously lied to compensate for his physical inferiority.

# CHAPTER II

# JUVENILE DELINQUENCY - THE LOGICAL OUTCOME OF MALADJUSTMENT

## Chapter II

## JUVENILE DELINQUENCY - THE LOGICAL OUTCOME OF MALADJUSTMENT

Boys' problems may arise out of anyone of three causes: Abnormal or subnormal physical or mental development, misdirected energy, or bad environment. There are but few really bad boys in the sense that they set out deliberately after so much planning to commit certain anti-social acts. There are, however, very many who will become bad men if they are not helped through some agency into proper adjustments in the crucial formative years of life.

One of the most towering facts that have come out of recent contacts with delinquent boys is the absolute necessity for an adequate diagnosis. In the past we were content to say that they were bad, ought to be flogged, curbed, made to respect authority, and put in their place generally. It is only within recent years that we have really begun to diagnose their problems, and the result has been little short of revolutionary. In this connection the researches carried on by Dr. William Healy[13] have been particularly illuminating. In one group of 823 cases of repeated offenders his diagnoses show that in 455 cases mental subnormalities and peculiarities appeared to be the main factor in producing the trouble, and in 135 more they

[13]William Healy, The Individual Delinquent, P.130

figured in a less important way. In 73 there were mental conflicts resulting from suppressions, and in 192 improper sex experiences and habits into which they had ignorantly allowed themselves to be led, figured as causative factors. It was also discovered that abnormal physical conditions, including excessive physical development also were present in 273 cases.

This statistical study shows that in the majority of these cases of children astray, there were physical and mental conditions that needed treatment, the adjustment of which would go a long way in helping to correct this improper conduct. Of the same number, 556 came from defective home conditions, including alcoholism, and 279 associated with bad companions, thus showing the effect of bad environment. We may be sure that the delinquencies of many boys are but the expressions of pent-up impulses. "In every case of a reputably bad boy", says Dr. Charles R. Zahniser, "there is a strong likelihood that some powerful emotions hidden from others, and probably hidden also from the boy himself, are finding an outlet in his misconduct."[14]

[14]Charles R. Zahniser, Case-work Evangelism, P.138.

## I WHY DELINQUENCY?

At the outset, therefore, we are faced with the question why a boy does a certain act which is classified as delinquent. From every approach that one may make it is discovered that there are forces operating in the minds of youthful offenders which have led them into anti-social acts. A study of these forces not only helps us in understanding the boy but in building a program of rehabilitation. The vital question then is, "What makes a boy do what he does?"

Dr. William Healy and Dr. Samuel Hartwell, both eminent psychiatrists, believe that our study of the delinquent boy must be genetic. Furthermore, that the dynamics of delinquency must not be sought so much in the field of structural processes as in the mental processes. To be sure much delinquency is the result of organic and structual processes, but as far as our particular group of boys at Goodwill House is concerned, the number is negligible. Even at the larger centers the study of mental processes is increasingly holding the spotlight of attention. Nothing promises to make a greater contribution to the understanding of juvenile delinquency than a thorough knowledge of the way experience from childhood to young manhood is handled. In this connection the psychoanalytic method has already proved itself of indispensible worth. The method itself is very well described by Dr. James J. Putnam:

> "The psychoanalytic method is the name given to the special means by which memory is aided to penetrate into the forgotten portions of one's life, with the view of bringing to the light of clear consciousness the details of emotional conflicts which, in spite of being out of sight, exert an influence, often of an unfavorable sort, on the development of character and temperament, as well as on the motives, the habits and the thoughts."[15]

However there is a limit to which one may go in this method of exploration or probing. An insistent prying into the unpleasant past of many individuals may erect a barrier between a boy and his interviewer that will block any further progress toward rehabilitation. One has to sense right from the beginning what the reactions of the person being interviewed are likely to be. Dr. Healy sounds this warning most graphically:

> "It is to be questioned whether one is ever justified in exploring the instinctive and mental life of problem-children simply in search of dynamisms, unless one feels that the problems will be better handled if discovered, for the child has already made some sort of an adjustment, and even though this be an unreliable one, it may really be better than another that will spontaneously develop after the exploration, if the psychiatrist has given no help."[16]

Even after we know the mental mechanism at work in the child, there is still the actual mental content of the mechanism to be considered. Any particular form of delinquency is not simply an overt act carried out to flee from an objectionable situation, to fight it, or to fantasy about it. It is also the outcome of certain kinds of content

[15] James J. Putnam, Human Motives, P. 68.
[16] William Healy, Mental Conflict and Misconduct, P.11.

material. Thus content of thought and the peculiar mechanism which the mind has taken to deal with any given situation must fit into our picture of a delinquent boy. Environment, heredity, habits of reaction and the amount of energy in the system all contribute toward the total influence exerted on the boy. And along with these factors must be considered the experience content deposited in the subconscious of the individual boy. Departure from conventional codes hopelessly fails as a means of our understanding a delinquent youth. We must seek to understand him from the standpoint of his past history, native endowment, personal experience and everything that may have been conditioning factors in his experience. Genetic we must be in our approach.

## II THE MATTER OF TECHNIQUE

Those whose privilege it is to deal with maladjusted lives feel their greatest handicap perhaps at the point of technique. "Which isthe most effective method that can be used in dealing with this delinquent boy", is the question that comes up over and over again. We do not want to lose him through antagonism caused by a faulty method of approach. The question of technique, then, is the gate through which we may pass to a successful job of rehabilitation. The problem child himself is the best evidence that somewhere along the line that child has been unsuccessfully handled. Some father, some mother, some relative, or social worker maybe, who has been in that child's dynamic environment has failed to help him make proper adjustments in earlier life, and in many cases the technique hasbeen the cause of subsequent maladjustment.

### (a) Dr. Samuel Hartwell's Plan

There are, according to Dr. Hartwell, four general principles upon which all techniques must be built.[17]

> 1. The way the child interprets his experience and feels about things is more important than the experience and things themselves. Our main problem, then, seems to be to alter the way a child feels about a certain thing.
>
> 2. "The attempt to attain happiness" is the end result of all behavior. This gives us a clue. If we hope to enable a child to make a successful adjustment it will have to be in

[17]Dr. Hartwell, Fifty-Five "Bad" Boys, P.7.

terms of effort to be happy or to escape unhappiness.

3. All a child's experiences enter into the development, shaping, and direction of his mental life. The type of experiences therefore is of the first magnitude in determining the content of his mental life.

4. People in a child's environment naturally influence him more emotionally than objects in that environment. To know the child subjectively we must know the people he has loved and hated. Then, and only then, should we turn to investigate the things which have been present in his surroundings.

(b) The Judge Baker Foundation Schedule

If we place alongside these four principles of Dr. Hartwells' the schedule used at the famous Judge Baker Foundation in Boston we get a fairly good insight into the scientific way of going about this all important problem of juvenile delinquency. The schedule used at the Judge Baker Foundation reveals the thoroughness with which they go about the task of knowing a child before planning a program for him. Here is the schedule:

1. Identifying material:
   Name, age, place in family.

2. Problem which brought him in for guidance and treatment.

3. Family background:
   a. Heredity (look for signs of abnormality)
   b. Life experiences of the parents (father and mother)

4. Physical home conditions:
   Dependent family, marginal, moderate, comfortable, affluent. (These are economic classifications)

5. Family attitudes:
Parents attitudes toward one another: (quarrelsome, strained, etc.)
Father toward boy: (Cruel, indifferent or a real pal)
Mother toward boy: (Protective, nagging, indulgent, etc.)
Siblings toward boy: (hating, leaving him out, etc.)
Boy's attitude toward parents: (loving, hating, feeling of unwanted.)
Boy's attitude toward siblings: (inferior, slighted, mean, etc.)

6. Physical findings:
Weight, height, (shortness makes him feel inferior. Note case of John D. already refered to.) eyesight, posture, conditions of nervous system, glands, etc.

7. Developmental history:
Antenatal: mother's anguish, physical conditions, etc.
Natal: conditions of birth, injuries, deformities, etc.
Postnatal: nutritional, diseases, etc.

8. Habits:
Eating, sleeping, smoking, nail biting, masturbation, etc.

9. Mental findings:
Intelligence tests, performance tests, special ability tests, etc.

10. Personality findings:
Dynamics: Energy available in adjustments. What kind of mechanisms are used? What is the energy behind them, hates, hurts, ideas, etc.?
Social: Adjustments. Friends or lack of friends, etc.
Intellectual: Interests, power of thought, judgments, etc.
Ethical: Does he steal, is he trustworthy, etc.?
Emotional: Sensitive, unstable, etc.

11. Psychiatrists' estimate and psychoanalytic findings.

12. Plan of treatment: recommendations as to change of environment, getting parents or others to readjust, getting siblings to adopt new attitudes, change of school program, etc.*

One of the most helpful approaches to the problem of delinquency and the delinquent boy is the one used by Dr. Hartwell. Its simplicity makes for its effectiveness and can be readily made use of in interviews. The fundamental purpose which he has in view he states in the following words:

> "The Particular type of psychotherapy I have planned attempts to influence toward normal and healthy trends the mental life and behavior of the one being treated, by introducing into his environmental values the person and personality of the psychiatrist, who carries with him a knowledge about and an understanding of the mental life of the patient."[18]

(c) Rapportistic Guideposts (Hartwell)

The procedure Dr. Hartwell[19] follows is set down in the following three principles:

1. Thinking about the boy.

   This includes most of what we have included in the former schedule such as, history, I.Q., etc.

2. Thinking for the boy:

   Plans are made that influence the child in the direction of healthy mental life by changing either his environment or his emotional response to it.

[18]Samuel Hartwell, Fifty-Five "Bad" Boys, P.8
[19]Ibid P.8

*I am indebted to my friend and co-worker Rev. Emil M.Hartl for the above schedule. It was obtained by him in lectures delivered at Boston University, School of Education, by Dr. Bronner of the Judge Baker Foundation.

3. Thinking with the boy.

Here one reasons with the boy, informs him, gives emphasis to some things, helps him to face things he is denying and helps him to recall forgotten things.

It is a forgone conclusion that unless the interviewer secures the boy's confidence there is little in the line of adjustment that will be done. So the basic prerequisite is at least some measure of rapport. Again we are indebted to Dr. Hartwell for certain rapportistic guideposts:

1. Friendly belief.

In this stage "the child thoroughly believes in the psychiatrist and thinks he has knowledge which may help him. The therapeutic procedure is good advise and counsel, always backed by reasons the child understands and accepts, instruction concerning things about which the child is ignorant, but about which there is no present or possible future conflict or repression. Encouragement may be given, successes and good characteristics pointed out, if he recognizes them as such, confessions, and confidences concerning things of emotional value to the child should not be sought in this superficial type of rapport."

2. Personal trust.

In this stage the child in addition to believing in the psychiatrist "trust him in regard to personal matters." Therapy is similar to the first stage. "The child, however, is now admitting the psychiatrist in his environment values," and is much more suggestable. "Now things of emotional as well as intellectual value may be discussed and advised upon .... only exceptionally is it advisable to go further than this stage of personal trust with a child who is to be seen only once or twice."

3. Personality Contact.

"The child now believes in me, trusts me, and in addition to that he likes me and wants me to understand and like him. He now gives emotional

as well as intellectual values to the things I do and say. Permanent influence is made upon him now, when the break with him is made. A substitution for personality contact must be made."

4. Dependent attachment.

"The child believes in me, trusts me, likes me, wants me to understand. In addition to this he is dependent upon me and wishes very much to have me like and appreciate him. He is thinking about himself and trying to interpret himself in terms of my personality. He is suggestible to the greatest possible degree. He is apt to be more than frank now. In fact one may always place more reliance on what a child says during good personality contact than during dependent attachment. This should be used in therapy only for cases otherwise impossible. There is a sexual element in the response. It should be used with two groups:

a. Those who feel themselves utterly inferior.

b. Those who have no loyalties in life and who develop none in the personality contact stage."

(d) Some Practical Rules of Thumb.

In addition to these very valuable suggestions in contacting a maladjusted boy there are some very practical rules of thumb which will aid in the effectiveness with which the psychiatrist, or social worker or even parents in working with children. They are listed as follows by Dr. Hartwell:[20]

1. Be sure that the child understands who the psychiatrist is. Allow him to be under no suspicion that he is a policeman.

2. A physical examination offers a good opportunity to establish a good rapport with the child.

[20]Ibid Pp24-25.

3. During the interview make the child comfortable and do not scold or outright moralize.

4. Do not make notes in the child's presence. Make them after the interview.

5. The psychiatrist must not say the important things to the boy while the boy dislikes, fears, or ridicules him, lest the boy take the same attitude to what he is saying as he is taking toward him.

6. Know personally the child's environmental problems and especially is this true in very difficult cases.

7. Use the child's vocabulary. Do not be discouraged in a boy who uses vulgar and slang vocabulary. Sometimes it is a good thing to outdo the "wise guy" in brazen and profane language. Use vulgar and common expressions in discussing sex with children who are accustomed to talk among themselves in this way. Do it in a non-emotional manner.

8. The child must be made to feel that he is being understood.

9. One must gain the child's confidence.

10. Take every interview seriously. Smile frequently. The child must not feel that he is considered unimportant. Be especially interested in <u>this</u> boy.

11. Never try to force a child to talk about unpleasant things.

12. Never scold or criticize a child after good rapport has been established - approve or disapprove candidly.

13. Never be disgusted or shocked with the child.

14. Respect the child's confidence. In good rapport consent may always be gotten to reveal to proper people if this is therapeutically wise. Discourage confidences in the early stages of rapport. One should get the child's confidence only in one way - because he wants to give it. All information obtained should be for social reasons only.

15. Truthfully answer all the child's questions. Questions are valuable therapeutically, therefore do not discourage them by lies. Sometimes one may postpone truth until a proper background is laid.

16. Do not cause discouragement, fear, or worry. Your attitudes, gestures, ambiguous statements, or lack of comment on emotional matters (as masturbation) may communicate it.

17. Never ridicule or shame the child. A laugh may do it.

18. Be interested in the child's activity.

19. Keep appointments and promises to the dot, otherwise it breaks confidence.

20. Know the child's natural environment, home, group, and when he is having a good time.

21. Maintain a friendly relation with him. Never argue or quarrel with a child.

## III TYPES OF MISCONDUCT

Psychiatrists and parents who reveal wisdom in handling children think in terms of the adjustments a child is making in relation to the endowment, environmental influences and inward mental conditions. It would be well to list a number of types of misconduct at this point: The following list is according to Dr. William Healy:[21]

(a) According to Dr. William Healy.

1. General troublesomeness and mischief making, including destructiveness.

2. Stubbornness, obstinacy, chronic willfulness.

3. Truancy.

4. Remaining out overnight or running away from home.

5. Vagrancy.

6. Stealing, including pathological stealing.

7. Obtaining money by false means. Forgery.

8. Exhibition of a bad temper. Violent behavior.

9. Deliberate malicious mischief and violence.

10. Sexual offenses.

11. Cruelty - Sadistic offenses.

12. Self-injury - of the nature of mesochistic offense.

13. Injury to others - or attempt at injury.

[21] William Healy, Mental Conflict and Misconduct, P.20

(b) According to the Boys at Goodwill House

In this connection we shall list thirteen acts which the boys at Goodwill House considered to be acts of misconduct. They are:

1. Stealing.
2. Fighting.
3. Lying.
4. Cursing,
5. Being a general nuisance.
6. Drinking.
7. Gambling.
8. Running away.
9. Smoking.
10. Begging.
11. Masturbation.
12. Sexual intercourse.
13. Arson.

Let us now proceed to give the boy's own analysis of each type of misconduct.

1. Fighting.

The types of fighting are:
Street fights - in school and alleys.
Gang fights.
With strangers just because they are strangers.
On the picket lines in a strike.

The methods used are:
Fists.
Stones.

Sling shots.
Knife.

The reasons for fighting are:
Jealousy for girls.
Revenge.
Because of insults.
Family feuds.
For possession (possession is 9/10 of the law).
For possessions threatened to be taken away.
Carrying a "chip" on your shoulder all the time.
Feeling of inferiority.
Take a fellow down a peg (conceit, etc.).
Fight for principles (the right, truth, language).
for defense.

2. Stealing.

The reasons for stealing are:
For women (meaning for their sweethearts).
Because of home conditions:
Just plain hunger.
Get better clothing.
Need spending money.
Bad parental example.
"Keeping up with the Joneses".
Delight in breaking the law (its' daring).
Kleptomania.
Just plain survival (as on the road, travelling).

Where stealing was learned.
Parental example.
Take little things at home.
Join a gang and learn from boys.
Steal for the gang (You bring this and I'll get this).
Hero worship of gangsters.
Movies.

3. Lying.

Why lie?
Afraid of consequences of the truth.
May be embarrassment.
May be ridicule.
May be trouble.
May be that he would lose a girl.
May be it would disappoint the gang.
May be it would mean losing a friend.

Lie for gain.
For a job.
For admission, as into the Navy.
Save trouble for someone.
Lie to cause trouble for someone (an enemy perhaps).
Lie to make people think you are somebody.
Lie to cover up the past.
Bad reputation.
Bad home and parentage.
Bad past life.
Just "spinning a yarn".
People won't believe the truth.
Protect somebody.
Lie to "keep up with the Joneses".
Lie to justify oneself.
Lie to gain pity.

Types of lies.
White liesthatdo no damage.
Bad lies. Plain fabrications.
Criminal lies.

4. Cursing.

Why do boys curse?
To gain expression in words.
To pop off anger.
To say something when you're hurt.
To impress someone.
-gang.
-some individual.
To think "you're a big shot".
Hatred.
Lack of vocabulary to tell it effectively.
It is customary.
Becomes a habit.
Cursing may be in thoughts as well as in words.

5. On being a general nuisance: (Not discussed).

6. Drinking.

Why does a boy drink?
Discouraged.
Disappointed (in love, etc.)
Financial worries.

Bad companions ("Come on, be a sport").
"Keeping up with the Joneses".
Boy thinks it is manlike.
Parental example.
Forbidden fruit.
Quiets the nerves.
Gets to be a habit and he can't quit.

7. Gambling.

Why does a boy gamble?
Goes with drinking.
Craves easy money.
Bad companions.
Parental example.
Experience the thrill (anxiousness)

It began with marbles.

8. Running away:

Why does a boy run away?

From school:
Go swimming.
Dodge lessons.
Afraid of punishment.
Friends do it.
Too late to go.
Make teacher give him the deuce.
Dodge embarrassing situations (take part in a play in English class).
Keen on a scrap.
Failure in school work.
Called unliked nicknames.
Afraid of conflict and ridicule.
Want to earn money.
Failed in athletics.
From home:
Rough treatment.
Wrong discipline at home.
For a girl.
Get a girl in trouble.
To show one's independence.
Liquor.
See the world.
Poverty at home.
To look for work.
Bored at home. No play, no creative life.

Wanderlust (can't help wandering)
Police troubles.
To escape punishment.
To seek a fortune.
Self-pity.
Want to be alone.
Take short trips.
Pride (keeps him on the road).
Too much work and not enough recreation.
Domineering father or nagging mother.
Step-mother or step-father conflict.

9. Smoking.

Why does a boy start smoking?
To be a man (thinks this makes him one).
Parental example.
Forbidden fruit.
See what it is like.
Companions smoke.
General braggart.
Pass the time away.
To stay awake.
To quiet the nerves.
Gets to be a habit and can't quit.

10. Begging.

Why does a boy beg? (Chiefly in the city)
Need. To satisfy hunger.
Get akick out of it.
Easy way to get by.
Companions taught him.
Thinks it is cute.
Drinking among the older ones does it.

11. Masturbation.

Why does a boy masturbate?
Hearing others talk about it.
Seeing others doing it.
Accidently fumbling upon it.
Want of sexual intercourse.
Avoid "wet" dreams.
Pleasure.
Gets to be a habit.
Presence of lewd pictures.

Dancing gets some "hot".
Seeing nude bodies.
Loneliness.
Pleasurable sensation.

Common ideas as to outcome of masturbation.
Drives you "nuts".
You will have pimples.
It hurts your blood.
Takes your strength.
Get old soon.
Throw away your youth.
Stunts growth.
Weakens your blood.
Too much ruins the sex organs.
Too much makes one sterile.
Makes organs larger.
Causes rupture.
Can't have intercourse.

12. Sexual intercourse: (Was not discussed much).

13. Arson: (setting things on fire). The boys felt it would be a pathological boy who would do this.

For this rather comprehensive analysis from the boys' point of view I am again indebted to my colleague and Director of the Goodwill House in Boston, Rev. Emil M. Hartl.

## IV DIPPING BELOW THE SURFACE

With this surface analysis we are now in a position to plunge into a deeper and more critical examination of the basic causes leading to many juvenile acts of misconduct. It is not until we plumb the psychological and psychiatric depths that we are able to answer the question why a boy acts as he does. Many untrained people are quite likely to place the symptomatic cart before the causal horse so that the end result is greater confusion than ever. These acts are but expressions of deep seated causes too serious to leave to a psychological laissez faire policy. They are invaluable as a lead and may show in which direction the mental winds are blowing. It is in the realm of mental conflict, then, that our most effective work will be done.

### (a) Mental Conflict.

The ever recurring phenomenon of delinquency has taken on a totally different aspect within recent years. We are beginning to see that the key of mental conflict is unlocking many a hitherto bolted delinquent door. Nor are we unmindful here that organic lesions are the cause of a certain number of juvenile delinquencies. But mental conflicts are far and away the cause of delinquency as we know it today. The will to do an act is seldom present

in a chronic delinquent. Acts are committed because impulses have driven a boy to do so. As a matter of fact many a boy is at a loss to explain just why he did an anti-social act. Dr. Healy[22] puts it as follows:

> "To the delinquent himself misconduct often does not appear at all as a particularly reasonable or explicable act; in a later contemplating of it he may state that he perceives it to have been merely a following out of an impulse. He gained nothing, and really had no anticipation of gaining anything."

He further more states that:

> "at present ..... it is clear that mental conflict does often stand in causal relationship to misconduct and that this vital fact may be brought out by even a moderate amount of analysis and, in general, is understandable when discussed in non-technical terms".

The question very naturally arises as to the outcome of a mental conflict. After mental conflict what? It would seem strange indeed if one could be mentally confused without doing something as a result of it. The plain fact is that mental conflicts cannot last forever. Either for weal or woe some sort of solution will be reached because of the very dynamic behind them. Human mechanism works also on a safety valve basis. As Dr. Healy says[23];

> "It is self evident that if a complex has latent energy producing powers, and a conflict results in the accumulation of pent-up energy, this, in turn, has to be released, worked off, (abreaction). For the different directions which the energy may take, separate terms have been offered:

[22] William Healy, Mental Conflict and Misconduct, P.42
[23] Ibid P.36

1. Conversion (into bodily ailment, as paralysis).
2. Sublimation (into constructive activity).
3. Displacement( very often leads to misconduct.
4. Substitution(

A number of the boys at Goodwill House present a problem in the field of misconduct. The writer feels that at least some measure of progress has been made and can be made because of one redeeming feature in the situation. In most cases the misconduct is hardly ever self-formulated. Scientific study and exact case work study have revealed this fact.

> "Hardly ever," says Dr. Healy, " is the chain of causation found to have been self-perceived or self-formulated. Relationship of the active misconduct, regarded as effect, to the underlying cause, is anything but obvious on account of repression of the original trouble- producing ideas and emotions. Here superficial facts are thoroughly misleading in regard to antecedents. The displayed energy is only to a distant, pent-up source, where the tendency to action is generated through the high emotional import of the original experience and of the mental states superimposed. In such a case the repressions, the escape of energy along undesirable channels, the outcome in misconduct truly represent mental strife, mental conflict."[24]

(b) Causes of Mental Conflict.

It would seem, then, from every avenue of approach that conflict is the basis of anti-social action. It is to be noted that the great majority of reasons given for

[24]Ibid P.3 (Introduction)

misconduct by the boys themselves point to the fact that they were elements in a conflict situation. However, the underlying causes of the conflicts were not reached. This is the distinctive field of the psychiatrist. According to psychiatric study many of the conflicts can be best accounted for when viewed in the following settings:

1. Misunderstanding.
2. Unhappiness.
3. Feeling of being unwanted and unloved.
4. Running away from life.
5. Distorted lives.
6. Uncertainties.
7. Psychic traumas.
8. Obsessive imagery.
9. Impelling ideas.
10. Inferiority.
11. Lack of loyalties.
12. Clash of super-ego with ego.

The following is the story of John, one of the boys at Goodwill House, who made his first start in anti-social acts with a gang of other boys in Chicago. This is his own written statement of himself and his family.

> "John is the fifth boy of a family of six and next to the youngest. The oldest is nearly twice as old as he.
>
> Everyone in the family excepting the mother has shown a great capacity for leadership. The father ran a saloon before prohibition which changed with the law only to the extent of putting a soft drink sign in place of the old one. He also became a large bootlegger and his oldest son soon took that end of the business over with such marked success that he soon became the leader of one of the biggest bootlegging gangs in the district of Chicago. This gang received the high compliment of Al Capone who called it the best managed gang he knew. The eldest son as a youth was the ring leader of a destructive and criminally minded gang of boys. Everyone of that gang has

since distinguished himself in the eyes of criminals even to robbing banks, railroads, white slavery, swindling, murder and other rackets including bootlegging. The eldest son is still in many of these crimes and uses his powerful influence with police and judges to exonerate his friends.

The second eldest is also a leading figure in the underworld but is more concerned with violation of the eighteenth amendment (this letter was written before repeal) than with other criminal acts. Both are married happily in their own class and are looked up to as heroes and great men.

The girl's career is less known, though it appears that she has kept up her self-respect - at least as the community understands it.

The next oldest boy isthe only graduate of High School, a good all round athlete and a star in basketball. He counted among his friends many sons of the wealthier and "better element" people in another part of the town. He was popular with the teacher and the boys and girls of the school almost to the extent of being a hero. He was mixed up in a rape charge with a gang of his friends and left town temporarily when the Lion's Club offered a reward of $500.00 for him dead or alive. He was gone a few weeks with ample funds for a good time and on his return no mention was made of the crime by the police or anybody else.

Now John is physically the weakling of the family. He is a clever fighter but too small and thin and warped to stand on his own bow-legs in an honest fist fight. But his gang composed of boys youngerthan himself has always been willing and even anxious to do his fighting for him, though seldom squarely and honestly. Ever since he has been able to walk he has led a gang, a small one to be sure of five or six permanent members but one that has won its place and even superiority over gangs several times as large and composed of older boys. It would take several volumes to tell even sketchily of all the thieving, robbery and illegal relations with the law. None of them has yet served time. One was recently shot and killed. The others have all heard bullets whistle among their ears on many different occasions. The members are:

Nichouch (leader)
Alwho
Pigsnout
Nicoloosh
Gene (the only real name and Nichouch's right hand man).

They have owned scores of automobiles of nearly every make from a Ford to a Cadillac. John has always managed to claim the largest interest in every one of them. He is looked upon as a leader by the whole neighborhood including many men who previously saw no reason to learn even his name. He is the hero of all the boys in the vicinity, feared by many and loved by the rest.

From a street rot who sneaked things from the stores he has developed into a regular burglar, small booze peddlar, highwayman and has really stopped short only of murder. He was arrested on sight by the police and was actually sent to the Juvenile home of Cook County where he awaited trial for about a week. Even then he learned so quickly that before he left he was a recognized leader of one half those there. The next time he was arrested, as usual with the rest of the gang, his oldest brother walked into the police station, demanded the name of the policeman who had him arrested and walking up to the "guilty" one slapped him hard on the face. "The next time you pinch this kid or any of those fellows with him unless you are sure that he done it," he said, "I'll see to it that you either leave town or else --" The policemen were cowed and tried to apologize. Thereafter they befriended him many times even to the point of refusing to arrest him even at the victim's insistence, saying that he knew where the boy had been all the time (even though it was five minutes before) and that he knew it couldn't have been him.

John had no reason to steal. It is his ambition to be a big bootlegger like his brother, but one has a suspicion that he aims still higher - at his brother's friend Al Capone. His brother has always tried to divert him from his criminal ways by punishment, promises and bribes. If he can receive the bribe in a few days he will be good until he has what he wants. If he has to wait too long even the promise of a new car means nothing to him. He seems to have an uncanny genius for knowing when the iron is hot enough to strike. He knows whom he can depend upon for aid and to what extent. Now he is twenty years old with the wisdom

of one much older. He is financially well off (not from his own crimes for he always spent his share as fast as he got it like the rest of the gang). He is still active but not incessantly. He plans deeply and strikes for larger amounts. Crime is embedded in his nature."

# CHAPTER III

# THE TRANSIENT

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## THE TRANSIENT

When the economic depression started in the autumn of 1929 it descended on a nation without a national transient problem. Up to that time our "wandering boys of the road" were handled without the aid of the Federal Government. But since 1929 the problem has been assuming ever-alarming proportions so that today we have more adolescent youth adrift than in any other period in our history. One of the greatest prices which we shall pay for our present economic slump is the after effects produced upon three hundred thousand foot-loose boys and girls. It is absurd to think that over a quarter of a million future American citizens can be cut loose from all family moorings, exposed to most of the degenerating aspects of transient life without any adverse effect on our future citizenship. Even if we comfortably house every transient boy in a government shelter we still know that he has acquired a transient's philosophy of

life during his most impressionable years. Registered for all time are experiences on freight trains, in transient jungles, with bullying policemen and in mission "flop" houses.

## I REASONS FOR LEAVING HOME

The boys who come to us give various reasons for leaving home. In the main, however, they are seriously looking for work ; hoping against hope that Boston may have something to offer in the way of employment. Our records reveal that about seventy per cent are looking for work. Some of them are merely adventurers - out to see the country, or as one boy put it, "It is so easy to get by. Just plan your travel so you make the next government shelter by night, or at least by the next day; and you'll get along fine, and you'll see America First." The greatest number have home difficulties. For one reason or another situations have arisen in the family leading to a broken home so the boy "scrams". Many of them have just been released from orphanages, child asylums, or other institutions. Some of them have come to Boston hoping to get a start educationally. The reasons given for leaving home by 85 boys at Goodwill House are as follows:

21 Have broken homes, either death or divorce.

20 Left because there are too many hungry mouths at home.

15 Have step-mother, or a domineering parent.

6 Are genuine bums.

5 Are the genuine runaway type.

4 Are fugitives from justice, industrial schools, mental asylums.

2 Left because of bad home situation (drunkenness, insanity).

1 Left because of wanderlust.

1 Boy is looking for a sister taken into prostitution.

Thomas Minehan[25] gives the following statistics. Three hundred and eighty-seven out of four hundred and sixty-six boys and girls stated definitely that hard times drove them away from home. Twenty-six of the remaining seventy-nine were on the road because of some trouble with a girl. Twenty-eight were on the road because "they liked to travel". Twenty-three were on the road because they hated school. We may sum up the most pathetic phenomenon since the depression by saying that hard times plus the difficulties and desires of adolescence and the lure of the open road account for the present footloose generation of American youth.

[25]Thomas Minehan, Boy and Girl Tramps of America, P.48

## II FACTORS IN TRANSIENT LIFE

### (a) Travel

The very name transient is indicative of movement. From New York to California, Maine to Florida our wandering youth are constantly on the move. They seldom remain a week in any one place. During 1934, 50.7% of the boys stayed at Goodwill House but one week or less. The complete report on 415 boys in 1934 is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| One week or less ..... | 261 |
| One month of less ..... | 131 |
| More than two months ..... | 18 |
| More than three months ..... | 5 |
| More than four months ..... | 1 |
| More than six months ..... | 1 |

In addition to relief policies which have compelled transients to move there have been the lure of the road with the hope of better things and an "itching foot" for travel. In the first year or two of transient travel it was almost impossible for a boy or girl to stay any where. The timely erection of Government shelters during the past two or three years now helps greatly in this respect. Formerly no matter how tired a boy was, how willing to work, how weary and disgusted with the road he had to "move on". As soon as he halted the police were on the job. Jungles were raided, soup and bread lines checked up for non-residents, and mission lists carefully thumbed.

The general impression is that all a transient has to do is to "flip a freight", ride till he has enough of his box-car environment, drop off in some unknown town, and then "beat it for the main stem" of some mission "flop". Strange as it may seem, however, the boys walk as much or more than they ride. It has been stated that out of twenty-four hours the average boy walks at least eight. He walks not only to travel but to get food and money. He must walk while begging meals at back doors or "hitting the stem". He must walk, too, from the freight yards to relief stations. In small towns, the freights stop at water towers or sidings a considerable distance from the business section of the town. Usually both in getting on and getting off freights in cities he has to walk some distance. Even on the highways a transient spends about half his time walking, almost as much as when he is riding the rails. A sixteen year old transient puts it thus: "Fellow, I've traveled to every drag in this country big enough to have a flop house. Last winter I spent in New Orleans. Two years ago it was California. This winter it's going to be Alabama and Georgia. You can't name a main I haven't hit or a road I didn't ride. Right now I'm on my way to Seattle, but I'm not staying there over two or three days".[26]

[26]Thomas Minehan, Boy and Girl Tramp of America, P.55.

In the first years of the depression the usual way to travel was to hitch-hike. With the ever increasing number of transients lining the highways however they soon became a national pest. Before the problem became acute motorists were sympathetic and in most cases responded at the sign of the thumb. When they began travelling in small groups, the highways and motor cars were abandoned for box cars. On the highways the hitch-hikers were separated and were at the mercy of tourists and police. In box cars and jungles, boys and girls are able to gang up in large groups and so protect themselves. Again, when one is on the highway he must look respectable if he wants to get picked up: whereas anything goes in a box car.

In traveling in box cars very little technique is needed. They merely climb into a box car and wait until the train pulls out. In some places railroad officials are more strict and do not permit transients to board a freight so openly. In other places the railroad police still enforce the rule that a hoboe must not board a train until it is in motion. Needless to say when this method is followed many serious accidents occur. The following is a tragic example told by Tom Kromer[27], a twenty-eight year old transient.

[27]Tom Kromer, Waiting for Nothing, Pp.174-177

"Far away we hear this drag whistle in the night. It is a lonesome and dreary moan. We put on our shoes, go out to the tracks and wait. We lie down on the tracks and place our ears to the rails. We can hear the purr that rumbles through them. We look ateach other and shake our heads. Too fast. If she does not stop for water at this tank, she is too hot to catch on the fly..... We see her belch round the bend. She is not going to stop here, that is sure.

"She is coming round the bend", this kid yells, "Ain't you stiffs goin' to nail her?"

We shake our heads. He hits it over to the tracks and waits. I sit here on my bindle and watch him. He is only a shadow by the tracks. The cars whiz by. He runs along beside her. He makes a dive for this step, the rear step. She swings him high, and in between the cars. He loses his grip. He smashes against the couplings. He screams. He is under. We run over. He lies there beside the tracks. He is cut to ribbons. Where his right arm and leg were, there are only two red gashes. The blood spurts out of the stumps. It oozes to the ground and makes a pool in the cinders.

We drag him over to the side. He is through. His eyes are half shut. They are dopey looking. There is a grin on his face. It is a foolish, sheepish grin for no stiff likes to have a drag throw him. I lean over him.

"Want a cigarette, buddy?" I say.

"Hello, there," he says. "Sure I want a cigarette." I put it between his teeth and light it.

"My arm feels funny," he says. "Kind of numb and tingly. That old drag was balling the jack. I must have bumped it pretty hard."

"You got a rough bump," I say, "but you will be all right in a minute. She was a hot one, all right."

"She was plenty hot, all right," he says. "I thought I was a goner when I slipped."

He does not know that he is hurt. He cannot see his two stumps that are oozing blood on the cinders. I lean over so he cannot see. What is the use to let him know? He will be gone in a minute. There is nothing we can do. His troubles will soon be over. I watch him. I am sick all over. I am watching a kid die. It is hard enough to watch anybody die. But a kid is different. You kind of expect a kid to live instead of die.

> There is no color in his face now, All the color is on the ground mixed with the cinders. He closes his eyes. The cigarette drops out of his mouth. He quivers. Just a quiver like he is cold. That is all. He is gone. I unfold a newspaper and cover up his face. We sit there in the dark and look at each other."

(b) Food.

In all probability the greatest concern of the transient is that of food. Almost one-fourth of all their conversation, it is said, is about food. Nor does the conversation change radically when they are staying at a shelter. Food plays an important part in their lives even after they are registered at a Federal bureau. While it is true they are not starving yet the food they get for growing, healthy boys engaged in strenuous outdoor life, is shamefully inadequate. Relief stations serve from one to three meals a day with no second helpings. Jungle food is better in quality and, if the pickings are good, more generous in quantity. The meals, however, are uncertain.

Travel greatly interferes with meals. If a boy has been on a freight all night he may spend the next day sleeping on a hillside. The chances are by the time he wakes the bread lines are closed and he is desperately hungry. If he puts up that night in a mission he receives a thin bowl of gruel in the morning. In one day's fast the boy has been robbed of a great deal of strength. With

work and walking, sleeping out of doors, and riding in box cars, it may be some time before the lost energy is replaced.

When a boy arrives in any large city he goes from the railroad yards direct to the bread line. The bread line may be a mission, a Salvation Army flop house, or a municipal welfare station, or, literally, a bread line on one of the city's streets. Immediately upon arrival at a station the boy registers, receiving an identification slip. After registration most agencies give a boy a card for the next meal; others a bowl of soup immediately, and others an opportunity to work for a meal. Two or three hours work must be done before a second meal is served. According to reports the soup is invariably thin, watery, lukewarm, tasteless, and served without even stale bread, and never with soda crackers. The two old reliables irrespective of geographical location are stew and beans.

Begging is by far the most common method of transients. Even in the country where a farm is an easy mark begging is more common than stealing. Few back doors refuse a hungry boy bread. Butcher shops and restaurants are also solicited. Housewives, especially in the smallertowns, are "hit" regularly and successfully. Bakeries have also made their contribution. Panhandling (begging) is a very fruitful method but must be done with

tact, for there is always the danger of coming into contact with policemen dressed as plain clothesmen.

When a boy is hungry and unable to obtain food by begging or working he must steal or starve. As many transients have often said to the writer "What can a guy do when he is hungry. He must get food somehow." Stealing in summer is directed against farmer's gardens and orchards are raided regularly. Chickens, turkeys, ducks and even small pigs are picked up when they stray sufficiently far enough from the farmyard. Bakery trucks parked early in the morning before stores, vegetable trucks on the way to market before dawn are all raided. Even sidewalk counters and tables inside stores do not go unmolested. Produce trucks going to market early in the morning are the best regular supply. They board the trucks, and seize armful of supplies before the driver realizes he is raided. Thus by eating at missions, begging at back doors, and stealing from farmers and others, transients secure enough food to keep them alive.

(c) Clothing.

Transients get clothing either by begging or stealing. The relief stations in the large cities feed but do not clothe the hundreds of boys that come to them. This leaves the problem of clothing entirely with the transients themselves so that they are thrown upon their own

resources. The road is hard on clothes. Clothes slept in, boiled and fumigated at missions, soaked in the rain, soon go to pieces. A few days on the cinders will almost ruin even the best pair of shoes. If, then, a boy cannot secure work at the agencies to earn some clothes he is forced either to beg or steal them. Begging is the method used most often. This is done at back doors, on the streets, or at second-hand stores. Experience has shown that cold weather is the best time to hit a store-keeper and the most fruitful time of day is early in the morning or late at night.

When generosity is at a low ebb on the stem the boys are forced to resort to stealing. Then a clothesline in a back yard is spotted. Arriving there immediately after dark a pair of boys may march through an alley without being suspected. The boys sneak into the yard or under the window, snatch the clothes and beat a hasty retreat. In some cases a pole about six feet long to which is attached a hook is used. This has even been used through an open window to lift a pair of trousers from a chair. Open garages too, furnish clothes and in the apartment sections fire escapes and windows are carefully watched.

(d) Sleep.

Until late fall transients sleep almost exclusively out of doors in jungles. But with the coming of

shorter days, more piercing winds and the first fall of snow they must seek shelter. This means a return to the cities where beds in some mission are available. This migration from the rural areas taxes the facilities of relief stations to the breaking point. Every available bed is used and in many cases emergency cots are set up to care for the overflow. In many impoverished centers and missions, beds are not to be had so the boy already footsore and weary in body and mind sleeps on the floor. Thomas Minehan describes the scene thus:

> "Every available space large enough to contain a man's body on the floor is occupied. In the dim light you feel before you see the forms curving away from the desk and entrance aisle. A half-circle ten or fifteen feet in radius is clear. And in all the remainder of the room you cannot see a space large enough to spread a newspaper. Benches follow the walk, pew-like seats stand in the center of the room. On every bench there is a reclining form, feet to feet, and head to head they sleep. Some have removed shoes. One or two have checked damp overcoats. Here and there a man has opened the belt of his trousers, a boy has thrown off his cap. The majority sleep in their outdoor clothes, caps or hats pulled down over their heads, legs stretched out, faces to the floor."[28]

Perhaps one of the best insights into transient life can be seen by a consideration of jungle life. Jungles are usu ally located across from the railroad tracks. Here they are conveniently located for flipping freights and are not too far removed from the main stem.

[28]Thomas Minehan, Boy and Girl Tramps of America, P.98

Curiously enough the farther away a jungle is from where people live the cleaner and neater it is. A jungle a mile or more away from any other dwelling is most likely to reveal order and tidiness. A jungle in the railroad yards or nestled under the shadow of a city skyscraper is usually dirty and unfit for human habitation. Thus in a crudely constructed shelter, more often damp, smoky and ill-smelling than otherwise, thousands of boys and girls are getting their first but lasting impressions of life. Small wonder in their conversation they denounce a society which apparently is not too much concerned about it. In the face of such appalling conditions it is not surprising that many of them become ill and die. Wherever they receive a little protection from the cold they must sleep. In small country towns the jail is always available. In cities they seek bridges, lower levels of streets, old building, viaducts, tunnels and sewers. Yet since this economic scourge settled down upon as genuine a generation of youth as America has ever known, many a wandering boy has fallen asleep never to open his eyes again upon a world that failed to give him a chance.

(e) Sex.

Within recent years a great deal of heat with very little light has been generated by an older genera-

tion which has developed a messianic complex regarding "The revolt of modern youth". Fanned by a flame of superficial enthusiasm, the generation which was responsible for the world war with the corresponding landslide in morals is now holding up its hands in holy horror at the unprecedented steps which modern youth has taken. It is but little use to set up codes of conduct for an economically disenfranchised generation when about 300,000 of them are forced to shift for themselves in the richest nation on the planet. Any one who has to deal with the results of a year or more of nomadic life in the jungles of America cannot but feel that our present economic system has an account to settle with the youth of this country which it has not even yet considered. What can we expect when thousands of boys and girls are thrown indiscriminately together because of economic necessity? They are learning not only about life but sex as well. The trouble is that the knowledge is leading to tragedy. Statistics show that one child transient in twenty is a girl. On every freight leaving a large city are a number of girls disguised usually in overalls or army breeches, but just as homeless as the boys. The boy and girl posed as brother and sister on the main stem become man and wife in the jungle.

Of late there has been an increasing number of girls. They follow the boys, living with them in jungles

and box cars, sharing the joys and dividing the sorrows of life on the road. Generally they travel in pairs. They have no preference usually and treat all the boys alike. They wash clothes, sew on buttons, patch pants, cook and tidy up the places where they sleep. In general , at least within the confines of a jungle, their word goes.

No sex rivalry exists between the girls and boys. The girls are available to any and all boys in the camp including adults and late arrivals. Occasionally, a pair of girls attach themselves to a gang of boys and travel with them for weeks. Other girls go from jungle to jungle and from box car to box car. They know they are welcome where the boys have congregated. They enter a box car or a jungle and immediately a line forms.

In the main , however, boys and men on the road are denied natural sex outlets consequently they turn to less approved ones. Masturbation and perversion are indulged in. In any one-sex group homosexuality has good chances of appearing. Inhibitions are rare among transients so sex impulses are given full rein. It is well for boys first starting out on the road to beware of older men. In many cases they seduce a lonely boy and the experience may have very bad consequences. An offer of food or a pair of shoes is usually sufficient to gain the consent of an unsuspecting boy. Then in a deserted spot in a freight yard or a lonely thicket near

some water tower along the railroad the man indulges in the use of the boy's body. To remove such wilful practices we shall have to go back to the things which in the beginning forced a boy out into this morally slippery generation.

(f) Religion.

On first flush it would seem that transient life and religion are poles apart. But upon a more intimate association one discovers that religion does play a part in their lives. On the surface one would be led to believe that their only concern was food, clothing and a place to lay their head. To be sure we do not find religion expressed in the regular, orthodox fashion. There are no regular sunday school classes held by the boys and they do not erect altars of worship in the woods. But Thomas Minehan who has travelled in company with transients, disguised as one of them says:

> "But if religion is a search for values, the boys are religious. There is in their lives a vague quest for something beyond the present, a hope of union with the beautiful and the good, with the purpose and cause of life. This religion, indefinite and unexpressed, is a potent influence in directing the boys at present, and it will be more important in controlling them in the future. There is a religious and spiritual life of strange intensity.....It may be the religious influence of the mission: it may be a projection of themselves; it may be a deep longing in the human spirit: whatever it is, many of the boys believe sincerely, although unorthodoxly in God."[29]

[29] Thomas Minehan, Boy and Girl Tramps of America, Pp.144,155.

The author, after listening to many stories of mission procedure at religious meetings, has a feeling that the old technique used so effectively on old drunkards does not work with transients. Even after the missions have reversed their policies to read "Feed and Convert" instead of the old "Convert and Feed" it does not register with transients. The cause is not far to seek. Why stand up and argue unsuccessfully that the economic distress is the will of God when our travelling transients know it is the will rather of a few industrial rich. The plain fact is that no religious oracle no matter how verbose will ever convince our wandering wayfarers that this is the best possible economic world. No "Return to Mother" sign works on a boy who has left home because there will be one less mouth to fill. He is away from home not because of a sinful, dissipated life so characteristic of older men, but because back home a father tramped the streets by day looking for a non-existent job, and came home at night to face half a dozen hungry children. Life has been difficult, extremely difficult, for the transient and an empty cupboard exists not because of any wrong which he has done but because of the injustices of an irresponsible, unregenerate economic system. No, the day of religious platitudes is over. We had better start converting the causes rather than the results of our economic depression.

Before we start condemning the inevitable consequences of our present way of doing things, we would be displaying more wisdom if we started to examine that system. And it is in this connection that religion will become most effective. The work of man's hands as well as man himself needs occasional purgings.

## III MORGAN MEMORIAL AND THE TRANSIENT

On December 5, 1932 Morgan Memorial opened in Boston the first Goodwill House to care for the wandering youth of the country who came to this part of the East. Through the benevolence and vision of the Massachusetts Housing Association the dream of an earlier meeting of social agencies in Boston became a reality and we had at our disposal the facilities to care for at least some of the victims of a vicious economic depression. Three societies - Massachusetts Housing Association, Morgan Memorial and the Traveller's Aid of Boston - share the honor of instituting, what promises to be one of the best pieces of work yet undertaken to anchor drifting, homeless youth. The Massachusetts Housing Association furnished the house and its equipment as well as the personnel. Travellers Aid fed the boys, investigated their past histories and home conditions as well as planned a future program for their rehabilitation. Morgan Memorial supervised the work generally, provided opportunities of earning much needed clothing, and furnished recreational facilities so vital in any program for drifting boys.

It was not until February 1934 that the Federal Government actually put machinery into operation to cope with one of the most pathetic phenomena of modern times. The transient problem had grown into a national problem

of serious dimensions. More and more boys and girls were taking to the road, thumbing their way on highroads, flipping freights, living in jungles, sleeping on mission floors and developing a transient's philosophy of life. So in early February 1934 the Boston Federal Service Center came into being. Here all transients outside of Massachusetts are registered, appointed to some case worker at the Bureau and sent to Goodwill House for care. In the meanwhile the Federal Bureau verifies the story which the boy tells, and if he is retained as active and helpful a program as possible is planned for him in conjunction with us at Morgan. Our greatest handicap at the present moment seems to be the need of creative work that will be sufficiently interesting not only to hold the boy's attention but develops those qualities of citizenship into which transient life makes serious inroads. It is interesting to note that out of over 800 boys which have come to us only about 39½% have been returned home. The plain fact is that many have no home to return to, or if there is a home it is a hotbed of family feuds and fighting fanatics. In a great many cases it is as unwise to send a boy home as it is hopeless to let him return to the road again. The only solution, therefore, seems to be enlarged housing facilities and profitable employment.

True to the Morgan Memorial spirit of experiment-

ation in new ventures we have put into operation a school -work program. For its actual birth and careful nurture in the present moments of infancy much credit is due to the present director of Goodwill House, Rev. Emil M. Hartl. In our estimation it is a program that offers more and more possibilities as the years go by. It attempts to meet one of the most pressing needs of the youth of the country today - the opportunity of working while at the same time preparing for life educationally. In our present set-up there are really two aspects to this work. In the first the boys are employed by the Goodwill Industries of Morgan Memorial thus guaranteeing steady employment and a fair degree of economic independence. It is much more in line with normal life when a boy realizes that he is responsible for his own maintenance. One of the stiffest battles which this generation will ever fight is just at this point. The problem of economic security must be solved and I trust that those who spent nights on freezing freights and days in dismal jungles will have a part in bringing it about.

The other aspect, while unsatisfactory, is the best that can be done under the circumstances. I refer to the boys who are cared for by the Federal Government andare trying to put in a few hours in school on the side. Experience has taught us that it is not always in the interests of the individual when someone else takes over

his financial worries. It does not matter whether the financial caretaker be the Federal Government or a wealthy father.

The present mismanaged, disintegrated, drifting lives of many of our future citizens should stir the waters of indifference that are so obvious a part of our contemporary scene. No nation can ever hope to safeguard its national integrity and leave over a quarter of a million of its citizens to wander aimlessly from city to city hoping against hope that the next place will be better than the last one. No economic system deserves to survive that never considers the thousands of workless American youth who at present moment are roaming the country "because no man hath hired them". It is not until one has entered the confidence room of a maladjusted boy's life, that he realizes how completely chaotic the arrangements of life can really be.

## SUMMARY

In the opening chapter of this thesis the reader will observe that the pressing problem of maladjustment is approached from a psychological point of view. This approach immediately forces one to discuss the matter from an individual standpoint. One of the most fruitful lessons in the writer's whole experience, is the fact that we cannot group together a number of radically different individuals and prescribe for them the same treatment. Emotional instability, a hall mark of many maladjusted persons, may have either internal or external causes. Internally, the warping of personality may be caused through fear, a sense of inferiority of through some other reason. Externally, maladjustment may have been caused by a characteristic resistance to social patterning, or the anti-social influence of the gang, so important a factor in many of our maladjusted boys at Goodwill House. Then there may be some form of mental instability which inevitably plays havoc with what would normally be a wholesome, well-integrated personality. This type of maladjustment expresses itself in many ways. An individual may be feeble-minded, epileptic or possess a psychopathic personality.

While the above lists are not exhaustive of all

the ills that human flesh is heir to, they represent, nevertheless, the main forms which emotional and mental instability take. In many cases there is such a complexity of situation that it is quite difficult to disentangle the emotional and mental threads. There are usually more factors than are dreamed of in even a psychologist's philosophy.

When the forces of maladjustment have done their work, anti-social expressions are just around the juvenile's corner. Some characteristic expressions are: truancy and wandering, sex problems, stealing and lying. Each may be looked upon, notin terms of the viciousness of a restless adolescent boy, but in terms of some vicious home situation, faulty childhood conditioning or some degrading back-alley gang.

In Chapter II Juvenile delinquency, the logical outcome of maladjustment, is considered more fully. Here the results, particularly in the matter of technique, of outstanding authorities, are considered. Dr. Samuel Hartwell's plan, the Judge Baker Foundation schedule, guideposts to an essential rapport and some practical rules of thumb are noted. Thus the scientific result of some of the best experimentation in the whole field of juvenile delinquency were profitably used in the approach to the boys, many of whom have been delinquent. Furthermore, Dr. William Healy's types of misconduct are listed

and checked up with a list given by the boys themselves, together with their own analysis of each type. It was discovered upon analysis that the list presented by the boys accounting, in their estimation, for their anti-social acts, corresponded in a remarkable way with the list given by competent authorities. The analysis, however, did not go deep enough as one might very well expect. Therefore a deeper analysis was sought in the realm of mental conflicts. The impulsive way in which many boys did things without being able to realize themselves why they did them, forces one to look farther afield for causes. Finally, the causes of mental conflict are listed.

The concluding chapter is given over entirely to a consideration of a new group in American life - the transients. It was in response to this ever pressing need that Goodwill House was instituted, now over two years ago. The reasons for leaving home are given, with special references to the reasons given by a number of transients who came to us during the earlier days. Then, a number of factors in transient life generally, are discussed. These factors give us a true picture of the way in which over a quarter of a million of our future citizens are living at the present moment. Factors considered are: Food, Travel, Clothing, Sleep, Sex and Religion.

Finally Morgan Memorial's relation to the tran-

sient is set forth. Credit is given to the societies and agencies which were responsible for the institution of such a vital, housing scheme. At present we are still in the stages of experimentation but we feel that our progress thus far in adjusting prospective criminals warrents the expenditure in money and the investment in personnel.

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